From Disney to Dystopia: Transforming "Brazil" For A U.S. Audience[1]

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Ary Barroso's ode to the Brazilian motherland, "Aquarela do Brasil" (literally, "The Watercolors of Brazil" known to English-speaking audiences as simply "Brazil") is one of the most well-known musical clichés in screen media since the start of World War II. Unlike other internationally famous Brazilian songs such as "Tico-Tico no Fubá" and "The Girl From Ipanema", "Brazil" has been so popular that it is now known through the quick shorthand of a rhythmic vamp. Through its travels in film soundtracks, trailers, and cartoons, it joins other ubiquitous songs from Latin America that serve as musical tropes, such as the tango "La Cumparsita" and the ranchera "Cielito Lindo." Thus, it should be no surprise that Barroso's song often musically accompanies a range of stereotypes about Brazilian (and, more generally, Latin) culture as part of the U.S. entertainment industry's grotesque reduction of the region to Carmen Miranda, football, and coffee. In this chapter, I trace the song's changing meanings when it is used in various audiovisual contexts. Further, I uncover the relationship between the song's complex network of associations to changing geopolitical realities on the ground.

"Brazil" has diverged from the tokenism of the tropics in recent decades; today, it can musically represent an imagined future and can even evoke the dangers and humor of out of control technology and bureaucracy. Travelling a complex route, the song eventually became a musical representative of dystopia thereby showing how the adoption of popular Latin American songs such as "Brazil" on screen has made them more pliable to contemporary tastes. The material constraints on musical selection for accompanying audiovisual texts shape how that music is implicated in stereotyping ethnic and national differences. When songs are selected for

screen media, the links between audiovisual content and the group being referenced (in this case, Brazilians) are less important than the effectiveness of conveying and promoting desired meaning, whether or not the musical or visual cue is tied to said stereotyped group. In the case of "Brazil," its history of screen media use shows how samba came to index fantasies that disrupt notions of Western progress and even warn of the dangers of its excess.

Crucial to the song's story is how it played with and against longstanding professional practices of synchronizing music and video. Since the era of silent films, musical accompaniment has often relied on tropes and stock musical examples to help audiences 'hear' the movie's narrative content and, further, to empathize with the characters and action on screen. Since the music that accompanied motion pictures did not develop in a vacuum, film compositional practice also responded to musical topics, tropes and shorthand on full display in other forms of entertainment, such as operetta, cartoons, vaudeville, and minstrel shows (Goldmark 2005; Decker 2011). That history shaped the way these forms of entertainment worked with stereotyping and clichés about dramatic action, characters representing 'others,' and affect—jazz could signify the dangers of the city and a descending 'oriental' pentatonic scale could signify intrigue or seduction (Gorbman 1987). As has been the case in most uses of musical 'others,' these topics operate through contrast, serving to reinforce the dominance of Western musical norms through music.

Film music is thus complicit in the perpetuation of stereotype alongside ethnic and racial bias in screen media through its repetition in the larger representational networks, such as those of film promotion, audience participation, and cultural convergence (cf. Jenkins 2009; Jenkins, Ford, and Green 2013). However, tropes such as these do not function solely in the language of stereotype; at times, a sign that previously conveyed one idea can be transformed through a

memorable usage to do something else through signification and practice. The phenomenon is best documented through the use of pre-existing music in film scores and visual media in ways that point to the musical text's popular cultural reception (Powrie and Stilwell 2006). When a filmmaker or music supervisor selects music from classical repertoire, opera, or popular music for the soundtrack, she relies on that music's multiple associations. These include the historical context when it was produced as well as multiple uses in other screen media in what Melanie Lowe (2002) describes as a feedback loop of signification and practice. That loop can apply to any recognizable musical snippet that takes on a life of its own as it spreads throughout different media.

In the case of "Aquarela do Brasil," the representational network of music in screen media has reproduced itself on a regular basis—that is why the song continues to circulate; in 2014 alone, the song appeared in the theatrical trailer for the animated feature *Mr. Peabody and Sherman*,[2] the promos on iTV (UK) for the televised broadcast of the FIFA World Cup in Brazil,[3] and the Sony television advertisement "From Script to Screen."[4] This essay proposes that the appeal of the most recognizable components of "Brazil" relies not just on semiotic connections but also on the widespread practice of using banks of preexisting musical content—especially in film trailers and advertisements where the same music is used repeatedly—that have a history of signaling desired associations. Like the books and loose-leaf collections of generic music performed in early silent films, "Brazil" works as the musical accompaniment for an expanding set of ideas: an edenic representation of Brazil as tropical paradise; a zany accompaniment for fantasy and science fiction; and the musical counterpart for bureaucracy. Although these associations have only been codified over the years of the song's use and reuse,

they have their roots in the political environment in which the song was first composed and adopted for international dissemination.

Ary Barroso's "Brazil"

Brazilian musician Ary Barroso composed the samba "Aquarela do Brasil" in 1939. "Brazil" is a *samba-canção* meaning that it was intended to be performed on the radio and heard on record as opposed to during carnival competition. It was composed at the height of the so-called 'Golden Age' of the urban samba of the 1930s. Sambas originated in the country's Afro-Brazilian population. They are generally in duple meter and gain their energy from interlocking syncopated rhythms in multiple percussive instruments with the greatest emphasis on the lowest bass drum on the weak beat of the measure.

"Aquarela do Brasil" was so popular that its nationalist sentiment epitomized the spin-off sub-genre *samba-exaltação* [exaltation samba] with lyrics that 'exalted' the Brazilian nation-state. It expressed the zenith of nationalism of the period by celebrating Brazilian ideals and a romantic past and the song reached such a broad audience that it eventually gained the status of Brazil's unofficial national anthem. Barroso was an early supporter of Getúlio Vargas who had been installed as president by the military in 1930 and strove to centralize power and nationalize Brazilian culture as dictator under his *Estado Novo* [New State] in 1937. From a musical perspective, the pseudo-fascism of the dictatorship brought increased controls on music in the form of censorship and propaganda; Vargas sought to harness samba's popularity to bolster his appeal with the Brazilian people by institutionalizing samba competitions during carnival and controlling lyrics of songs not conforming to Vargas's political aims.[5] Thus, the lyrical imagery

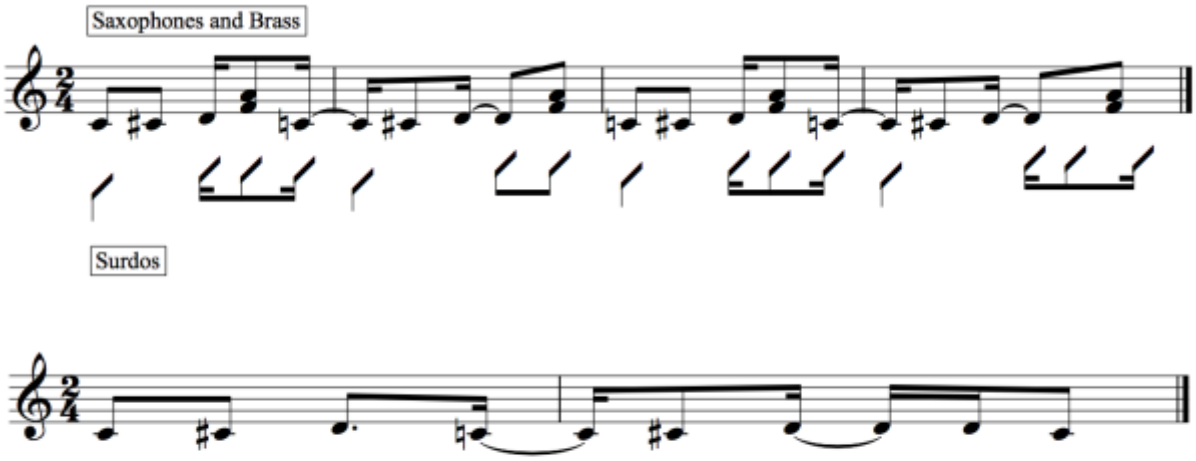
in “Aquarela do Brasil” describes the Brazilian homeland through an idealization and stereotype that was recognizable by Brazilians at the time.

The lyrics focus on a tropical lifestyle most often representative of the Northeastern city and former national capital Salvador. They feature mixed references to Brazil’s history of enslaving Africans and the legacies of slavery in the country’s conceptions of race, ethnicity, and identity. As Lisa Shaw (1999:171-173) notes, the lyrics refer both to harmful stereotypes of people of mixed race such as “*mulato inzoneiro*” and “*moreninha sestrosa / de olhar indiscreto*” (“lying mulatto man” and “headstrong mulatto girl /with the devious look”). There are also direct references to plantation life in the northeast during slavery:

Tira a mãe preta do serrado / Bota o rei congo no congado […] Quero ver a sá dona cominhando / Pelos salões arrastando / O seu vestido rendado (Take the wet-nurse from the fields / Let the king of the Congo perform […] I want to see the lady of the house walk by / Through the great rooms / in her lace-trimmed dress).

The song was written just fifty years after emancipation in Brazil and slavery still cast a long shadow through biases about people of different races. In keeping with the Vargas regime’s bolstering of Brazil as a so-called ‘racial democracy,’Barroso’s lyrics express intense nationalism and valorization of samba’s roots in Afro-Brazilian culture amidst stereotype.[6] In the song’s use in international screen media, those ambiguous racial representations in the lyrics turn into wholesale erasure of the song’s references to samba’s indebtedness to Afro-Brazilian roots (see Bakan, this volume).

In its early arrangements, "Aquarela do Brasil" often featured a vamp in wind instruments that was based on a slight variant of the rhythmic backbone of samba. A typical samba rhythm relies on an alternation between the high and low bass drums or *surdos*, which support the syncopation in the rest of the percussion. In the 1939 recording by Francisco Alves, the arranger interprets that surdo rhythm as a chromatic line in the winds. It bears noting that the song's melodicization of the surdo rhythm was common to many 'Golden Age' sambas and, thus, the rhythm's links to "Brazil" above all other sambas has much to do with the power of international musical translation (see figures 1-2). The following sections will show that the vamp from "Brazil" was so catchy that most arrangements of the song in screen media would emphasize it above all other features. Further, the examples demonstrate how the vamp changed from a straightforward film music topic of the tropics to a representation to something detached from reality.



Figures 1-2: (above) The melodicization of the samba from Francisco Alves's recording of "Aquarelo do Brasil. (below) The reduction of "Aquarela do Brasil" as rhythmic vamp.

Brazil as a "Good Neighbor"

"Brazil" arrived on North American screens and homes (via radio, record, and sheet music) due to the participation of film studios in the build-up to U.S. involvement in World War II. Starting in with Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address in in 1933, the U.S. asserted its influence in Latin America as a "good neighbor" to present a more united front against European fascism. While the omnipresence of Carmen Miranda on stage and screen is the best-known example of Brazil as "good neighbor," Walt Disney Studios produced one of the longest-lasting expressions of cultural diplomacy through the creation of the anthropomorphised parrot, José "Zé" Carioca. (That character still appears in comic books sold on newsstands and grocery stores throughout Brazil.) In 1941, Walt Disney himself was invited by Nelson Rockefeller to travel to Latin America. During the Brazil leg of Disney's tour of Latin America, he heard "Aquarela do Brasil" played by a sambista and decided to feature the song in his first film, *Saludos Amigos* (dir. Wilfrid Jackson et al, 1941) [known in Brazil as *Alô Amigos*]. For many of the cultural details of the Brazil segment, Disney hired Aloysio de Oliveira, a member of Carmen Miranda's backing band, Bando da Lua, to serve as consultant.[7]

Saludos Amigos differs in format from most Disney films due to its combination of animated shorts and brief documentary style introductions to each country. Brazil is the last of four countries after introductions to Peru ("Lake Titicaca"), Chile ("Pedro"), and Argentina ("El Gaucho Goofy") with its segment focusing almost entirely on Rio de Janeiro and the city's Euro-Brazilian population. (That erasure of Afro-Brazilianness would only become more exaggerated in the second Pan-American film, *The Three Caballeros* from 1944, directed by Norman Ferguson et al.)

Disney's animators focused on the country's lush forests and the stunning landscapes most familiar to the coastal cities such as Rio de Janeiro. When Aloysio de Oliveira starts to sing, the animation begins a conceit of painting with watercolors. A hand with a paintbrush sketches in black and white an unpopulated beach in Rio de Janeiro. With the introduction of the surdo, the imagery shifts from black-and-white to color as the blue water gushes down the waterfall. When the familiar samba vamp enters in the brass and saxophones after the first verse, the animation emphasizes the "watercolor" in the song's title, with blue water coating the page from the top (figure 3).[8]

Figure 3: Animated watercolors from Disney's *Saludos Amigos*.

The visual representations of lush landscapes maintains the spirit of Barroso's lyrics but with one major exception—there are no people or civilization. There is also no English sung or

spoken in the animation, which underscores the song's foreign mystique.[9] Despite the lack of translation during the short, Disney's influence had a long-lasting effect on the song's popularity in the United States—he was responsible for the song's English title, "Brazil," and its extended popularity as sheet music.

Brazilian scholars and critics note the lasting influence of Disney's musical animation sequence and, further, the Brazilian government's complicity in distorted representations of the country abroad as part of the "Good Neighbor" policy. In his book-length study of international misrepresentations of Brazil in film, Tunico Amâncio focuses on Disney's portrayal as the beginning of "the most assertively Brazilian cliché," above which "the short composes a collection of images that recover the mythology of Brazil, referenced by Rio, between an edenic tropical paradise and an innocent urban landscape" (2000: 56–7).[10] Even though *Saludos Amigos* features a brief documentary for each country, the animation is what has stuck. Disney, it seems, began that elision of everyday Brazilian life by starting with the forests rather than the country's vibrant urban spaces. Similarly, Tinhorão (2015) counts the internationalization of the song as a symptom of Brazilian efforts to gain an international reputation, often to the detriment of the style's integrity.

The role of Pan-American diplomacy in the song's popularity among U.S. audiences during WWII came to a head in Busby Berkeley's musical film *The Gang's All Here* (1943). In the opening sequence of the film, Nestor Amaral sings "Brazil" as a ship, the S.S. Brazil, unloads passengers as well as Brazilian exports as sugar, coffee, and finally fruits and vegetables. The net of fruit surrealistically turns into Carmen Miranda's famous fruit hat as she concludes "Brazil" in Portuguese.[11] Later, Miranda drops a bag of coffee beans with the man supposedly playing the mayor. He responds with, "Now I can retire! Well, there's your 'Good Neighbor' policy." That

campy dialogue expresses the widespread awareness about the importance of Roosevelt's policy and the complicity of the Brazilian government in representation abroad.

Thus, early uses of "Brazil" in Hollywood reinforced the political goals of Pan-American unity regardless of the dissonance between Vargas's pseudo-fascist ideology and that of the United States. Brazil, in this sense, was idealised for its role in the U.S.'s strategy; the music was intricately tied to the political climate of the time *and* to Barroso's intention to use the song to exalt the state. "Brazil" was the essence of sincere, patriotic expression in an era rife with chauvinistic zeal.

Cold War Futures and Dystopias

In the post-war period, the political impetus to visually represent Brazil as a tropical paradise detached from Brazilian reality began to fade as geopolitics shifted to the Cold War. Even as "Brazil" was extremely popular in the U.S., its musical distinctiveness was easy to gloss as a memorable rhythmic vamp without much of a connection to the real place. Thus, the song began to function as a musical cliché and topic for an unspecified otherworldly locale. When it was used as soundtrack material, it was often radically decontextualized in stories remote from reality in the genres of science fiction and fantasy.

The song's vamp became a pliable signifier of a generic Brazilian samba and circulated in post-war entertainment in a variety of settings, especially those portraying magic and the future with zany overtones. In an episode of the children's cartoon show *The Jetsons* titled 'Las Venus' (Season 1, Episode 3, dir. William Hanna and Jospeh Barbera,1962), George Jetson shares an illicit dance with GiGi Galaxy to the "Solar Sambaramba" based on that memorable vamp without any other melodic content from the song. A similar reference happens in "The

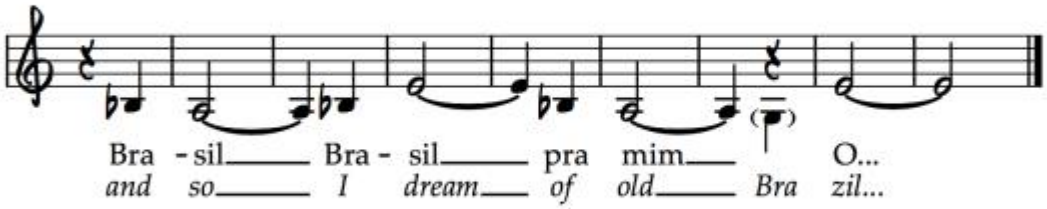
Beautiful Briny" from the Disney fantasy musical *Bedknobs and Broomsticks* (dir. Robert Stevenson, 1971), both in the context of other ethnic ballroom dances during an instrumental break. The vamp then repeats as accompaniment when Angela Lansbury sings, "It's grand / When you're dancing on the sand." The ethnic musical topics in "Beautiful Briny" are momentary excursions and, thus, never detract from the overall style of the song. As such, "Beautiful Briny" takes part in the common practice of stereotype in film music topics—the re-establishment of "hegemonic power relations crystallized in a network of musical signification" (Buhler 2014: 214–5).

The paradigmatic example of the song's use in Cold War-era science fiction and fantasy appears in Terry Gilliam's dystopian film *Brazil* (1985). The film's title was based not on Brazil as a nation but rather the affective connotations of Barroso's song. As the film's composer Michael Kaman related in one of the short documentaries on the film's DVD box set, Gilliam approached him with the idea to base the film around the song's aspirational and hopeful melody without any reference to the lyrical expression of Brazilian nationalist zeal. The song was far from ideal source material for Kaman and he even attempted to persuade Gilliam to choose Brazilian music that he liked better.[12] Throughout the film, the melodies and rhythms of "Brazil" function as leitmotifs for the protagonist's fantasy life amidst a dystopian society overrun by excessive bureaucracy.

Amidst all of the versions of 'Brazil' in the score, it is the cue that underscores the film's introduction of the Ministry of Information that has had the longest life in screen media culture. This version of "Brazil" relies heavily on the rhythmic vamp that has become popular in postwar entertainment with the addition of a modulation up a whole step to convey the heightening energy. This occurs as the camera zooms through the bureaucratic office world of the Ministry of

Information with almost no reference to Barroso's melody or harmony save that leap to the major sixth—that same leap at the beginning of the second verse in the song's English version—just as Mr. Kurtzman (Ian Holm) checks his pocket watch (figure 4). In addition to that modulation, another major change that Kaman added to that foundational rhythmic vamp is a percussive typewriter outlining the polyrhythmic core of samba. Thus, Kaman and Gilliam manage to highlight the dystopian possibilities of the song by transferring the rhythms that were usually performed by hand percussion to the typewriter, an instrument much more closely associated with offices. That association would prove to be especially fruitful as the score would be adapted for use in other media. Importantly, there is not much in the adaption of the song for the Ministry of Information cue that signals its source material apart from that vamp save that rise to the major sixth (figure 5).

The combination of the reduction of samba to a simple riff and the fantasy of the above examples removes the music from the specificity of representing Brazil as stereotype. Instead, the music represents something diffuse, allowing samba to stand in places and times distant from the realities of the Cold War. Thus, samba's rhythm as representative of spatial-difference-as-temporal-difference is in keeping with what post-colonial theorist Anne McClintock (1995) describes as "anachronistic space"—Brazilian music represents something atavistic, irrational, and out of step with modernity. Samba, then, represents something fun, fantastical, and remote. The riff's eventual importance to films like *Brazil* gels with exoticist Cold War sentiments about the uses of ethnic topics for aiding in the visual representation of worlds far removed from the so-called 'first world.' These settings of "Brazil" representing something fantastically humorous yet removed from the particularities of place would serve as a template for future use in advertising and promotion.



Figures 4-5: (above) Ian Holm's Kurtzmann checking his watch on the rising major 6th in the 'Ministry of Information' cue *Brazil*. (below) The English language lyrics add the major 6th interval to the song.

"Brazil" in a Feedback Loop

In recent years, "Brazil" has had an extended life on film and television. In some cases arrangements or remixes of the song underscore scenes that have no connection to Brazil as a place, such as those in *There's Something About Mary* (dir. Bobby Farelly and Peter Farelly, 1998), *Something's Gotta Give* (dir. Nancy Meyers, 2003), *Millions* (dir. Danny Boyle, 2004), and *The Aviator* (dir. Martin Scorsese, 2004). In many others, however, the song has been used to locate sonically the film in the representational world of Brazil. Often, the use of

"Brazil" alongside bossa nova from the 1960s in screen media is a sign that the text in question is playing in the language of Brazilian stereotype. For example, all of the Brazilian music in *Next Stop Wonderland* (dir. Brad Anderson, 1998) is used to portray the failed dating adventures of Erin (Hope Davis) as she attempts to navigate love in Boston, culminating in her seduction by a Brazilian man from São Paulo, before she ultimately finds the 'right' love interest. The use of "Brazil" and bossa nova portrays the character's whimsy and Brazil (and Brazilians) as seductive yet impractical. That association is also at play in the *The Simpsons* episode 'Blame it on Lisa' (Season 13, Episode 15, dir. Steven Dean Moore, 2002) when the song plays during Bart and Homer's visit to Copacabana beach in Rio de Janeiro to set up jokes about Brazilian men's swimwear. This is sandwiched between scenes portraying crime, monkeys, and sensuality run rampant. As such, recent uses of "Brazil" as direct representations of the Brazilian nation or people are in keeping with Amâncio's larger thesis about Brazil on film—Brazilian imagery and sounds are fun diversions, but they are not to be taken seriously (2000).

The recent trend of using Michael Kaman's 'Ministry of Information' musical cue for film trailers shows just how distant the song's earlier meanings have become. These trailers include *Being John Malkovich* (dir. Spike Jonze, 1999), *WALL•E* (dir. Andrew Stanton, 2008), and *Mr. Peabody and Sherman* (dir. Rob Minkoff, 2014). Trailers are something of an anomaly in the broader world of filmic promotional texts. Trailers essentially function as their own genre employing discontinuities with the film text and are often charged with excess signification and quotation (Kernan 2000; see also Deaville, in this volume). Thus, it is no surprise that film trailer houses make a regular practice of combining pre-existing musical material (often from film scores and popular songs) with original composition. Further, since film trailers are part of a film's promotional apparatus (and are often edited with specific markets in mind), one film will

often have trailers from multiple film trailer companies. Thus, there are material reasons why Kaman's cue has been so popular.

In terms of narrative, all three films are roughly in the same genre (science fiction with satirical implications) as Gilliam's *Brazil* and share in an overall comedic appeal to the possibilities of science fiction with vastly different tones. *Being John Malkovich* is a contemporary fantasy about an office worker who discovers a portal to the head of actor John Malkovich. It fits the quirky tone of many independent comedies released by Miramax during the 1990s and early 2000s. In contrast, *WALL•E* is the story of the sole remaining robot tasked with cleaning up a thoroughly trashed Earth who falls in love with a robot sent to the planet to search for plant life. The trailer's tone separates it from *Being John Malkovich* as *WALL•E* is marketed for a young audience and adults. Thus, it is fitting that the film employs the humor and wonder in keeping with Pixar Animation Studios's brand. The film has many references to classic cinema as well as jokes about science fiction films. *Mr. Peabody and Sherman* (2014) is an animated sci-fi adventure within the universe of *The Rocky & Bullwinkle Show* (1959–64) and its constant remakes. Thus, it is marketed exclusively to children with some winks to the recycling of post-war children's entertainment. The trailers for both *WALL•E* and *Being John Malkovich* use the entirety of Kaman's cue while *Mr. Peabody and Sherman* only uses the opening seconds of it thereby conforming to the conventions for comedy trailers (Deaville and Malkinson 2014). Given Pixar's broad generational appeal, it is reasonable to assume that some viewers would recognise the musical cue in both trailers as being from Gilliam's film.

In all three cases, the links to Barroso's song are merely incidental; it is a combination of the typewriter samba rhythm and that vamp that links them to the dystopian bureaucratic office world of Gilliam's *Brazil*. The trailer for *Being John Malkovich* hails the dark humor of

Gilliam's *Brazil* as it shows John Cusack's character exiting the elevator for the office space located between the seventh and eighth floors. There is a slightly nightmarish aspect of "floor seven and a half" as the height is so compressed that no one can stand up straight. In contrast, the trailer for *WALL•E* draws on the whimsy and hopeful affect that inspired Gilliam to make an entire film based around the song in the first place. This trailer shows off the Chaplinesque antics of the film's first 20 minutes of *WALL•E* exploring the massive heap of consumer waste that the Earth has become in the film's dystopian future (Goldmark 2013). Thus, that whimsical aesthetic softens the blow of whatever dark commentary the film makes about the relationship between the environment and consumer culture. Samba, then, is a stand in for humor and a lighter version of a possible eerie future. The trailers reserve the leap to the major sixth for the film's title card thereby signaling to all who recognize the music that yes, the music is from *Brazil*.

It is possible to read the "Ministry of Information" cue in these trailers as intertextual for those audiences in the know—all three texts are in dialogue about speculations of technology and bureaucracy run wild. After all, this is the essence of representational feedback loops. However, due to the de-centralized material realities of trailer production, it is also feasible that this reading is merely by chance. It could be that the trailer houses that chose the cue simply thought the samba rhythm on the typewriter sounded funny and appropriate to the tone they were trying to convey. Regardless, these recent examples show the durability of "Brazil" in a media environment where recycled cultural references are at a premium.

Conclusion

The above discussion of the persistent appeal and representational power of "Brazil" as a musical cliché demonstrates the tensions at the heart of representing musical difference in

contemporary screen media. “Brazil” has also collided with the Brazilian government’s efforts to improve its international reputation in recent years coming full circle in lead up to the 2014 World Cup for UK markets. In television promos for the competition, the British television network iTV adapted a recording of the song by a relatively unknown Brazilian musician named Thiago Thomé accompanying himself on the *violão* (nylon-stringed guitar). The song and visuals are edited for the promo to sketch the basic nationalistic message of the song with football in mind. It opens with the memorable samba vamp on the violão, and proceeds through the first and last verse while omitting the song’s famous chorus. Visually, the promo is dense through its use of split-screens and grids. There are scenes of football play (both professional and amateur), Rio de Janeiro’s famous geographic features, and everyday Brazilians (mostly male) celebrating football. The grids multiply to include more simultaneous elements while the musical texture expands to more instruments—trumpet, percussion, a whistle from a carnival procession, and a backing chorus—all contributing to the promo’s heightened energy as it ends. This promo shows how representations of Brazil in the global north have changed from tropical and dystopian fantasies to a different kind of fantasy—Brazil as a football paradise. There is also some continuity with how Thomé is portrayed as the lone Afro-Brazilian musician with a violão—a prominent visual trope of Brazilian music-making epitomized by the international popularity of *Orfeu Negro* (dir. Marcel Camus, 1959) among others (Peixoto 2007, Amâncio 2000).

These images alone do not explain why Thomé—a relative unknown within Brazil and beyond—is featured in a promo that represents Brazil to UK audiences and, further, what that says about the song’s recent meanings. As many scholars have noted, economic changes in the recording industry have led to the rise of working recording artists seeking synchronization licenses for their recorded output for self-promotion and income.[13] Thomé’s version was

probably cheaper than a comparable recording by someone more established. Economic realities of the entertainment industry aside, Thomé's placement in ITV's promo links him to a long history of representing Brazil to the global north through that one song. He does not represent Brazil, but the song does. The difference is that in this case "Brazil" is not so much about dystopian fantasies as it is a revision of the exoticist generalizations of the "good neighbor" films of the 1940s. Although ITV's vision of Brazil might include a more diverse population than was portrayed by Hollywood over half a century ago, it is still a fantasy. The screen shows children playing football on idyllic beaches rather than abandoned lots, and an elderly couple kissing in front of a colorful building rather than the concrete, steel, and slums that characterize much of Brazil's cityscapes. This visual rendering of "Brazil" is taking part in Brazil's recent re-branding efforts that have shaped its policies. Those same policies have driven Brazil's decision to compete for bids to host international sporting competitions like the 2014 World Cup to show its improved economic and cultural standing to investors and tourists even as the country's economy has plummeted to a crippling recession. It seems that much like the Brazilian government's complicity in Hollywood's distortions of Latin America in the 1940s, not much has changed with Brazil's efforts to promote itself among sports spectators.

Although it is tempting to interpret the rhythms and sounds for their simple musical utility, the political realities of musical representation have played a part in this song's international impact from the beginning. As this chapter has shown, the changing associations of "Brazil" in audiovisual texts are linked not just to symbolic economies but also the politics of producing new content amidst changing socio-economic realities from World War II through the Cold War and beyond. That "Brazil" has persisted in soundtracks speaks to the power of

feedback loops in contemporary screen media. As we can hear, the arrangements may change, but "Brazil" still operates in the symbolic language of fantasy.

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[1] Thanks to Elliot Evins, Kendra Preston Leonard, James Buhler, Chloë Alaghband-Zadeh, Schuyler Wheldon and the anonymous reviewer for insights and comments on early drafts.
[2] Available online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aMl2tTVwsZA> last accessed 25 June 2015.
[3] Available online at < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akINEO9fQ6c> last accessed 25 June 2015.
[4] Available online at < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4P4Wl1Ogg_g> last accessed 25 June 2015.
[5] McCann (2004) shows that although some argue that samba's popularity had to do with its cooptation by Vargas's government, the musical innovation of the period was remarkably democratic even as it perpetuated the nationalism of the period.
[6] For more on race in 'golden age' samba, see Davis 2009 and Hertzman 2013.
[7] In his autobiography, Oliveira (1982: 91-96) described how he negotiated for time away from Miranda to work with Disney.
[8] The arrangement largely copies the one by Francisco Alves from 1939.
[9] An English version of the song was composed by Bob Russell in 1942. Subtitles existed by this point, but they were rarely used in children's films.
[10] Translation of Portuguese by author: "Sob as notas da canção, que começa sua carreira cinematográfica de clichê musical mais assertivamente brasileiro, vai se compor a coleção de imagens que recobre a mitologia do Brasil, referendada no Rio, entre o paraíso edênico tropical e a inocente paisagem urbana."
[11] For more on Carmen Miranda in Hollywood, see Shaw 2013, Castro 2005, Griffin 2002, Mandrell 2001, and Mendonça 1999.
[12] Kaman referred to "Aquarela do Brasil" as 'The Bar Mitzvah song' and suggested bossa nova music by Luiz Bonfá and pieces by Heitor Villa-Lobos (The Production Notebook: Michael Kaman 2003).
[13] See Taylor 2009, Goldschmitt 2011, Beaster-Jones 2011, Morris 2014, and Love 2015 for overviews of synchronization in advertising. See also Klein and Meier in this volume.

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